

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE LIVES OF  
THE FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTE

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*For Carl Nordenfalk*

THE study of the only existing richly illustrated Saints' Lives in Byzantine manuscript illumination will make clear the indebtedness of a Byzantinist to Western scholarship. With richer and more diverse material at its disposal, Western medieval art history is based on a more firmly established method, and thus it seems proper to begin our study with a few remarks about illustrated Saints' Lives in the Latin West, thereby providing a basis for pertinent comparisons with those that have survived from the Byzantine East.

The illustrated Lives of Saints in the Latin West can easily be divided into two groups, textually as well as pictorially: on the one hand, there are the *Vitae Sanctorum* or *Martyrologia*, where a larger or smaller series of Lives is usually arranged by the calendar; and on the other hand, there are the single Lives that often appear as small books and are therefore called *libelli*.<sup>1</sup> Following a general rule, "the longer the text, the less dense its illustration," the collective volume with many texts normally has only one picture at the beginning of each *Vita*—the Stuttgart *Passionale*, written in Hirsau in the early twelfth century, is a good example<sup>2</sup>—while the *libellus* may have an extensive narrative picture cycle for its one saint. It is with this latter group that we shall primarily concern ourselves.

From the end of the eleventh century there exists an illustrated Life of St. Liudger with twenty-five scenes, now in the Berlin Library,<sup>3</sup> which was written and illustrated in Werden, the Saint's burial place. What the picture cycles of all such *Vitae* have in common artistically is that they are to a large extent made up of conventional ever-repeating compositional schemes, borrowed wherever possible from biblical illustrations. In one of the miniatures from this Berlin manuscript (fig. 1), Liudger, having been instructed to restore the church at Deventer over the tomb of Liawin, missionary of the Frisians, has found the corpse nearby and has had it lifted and transferred to a new resting place within the church. While the actual lifting is compositionally derived from an entombment of Christ, Liudger conducting the funerary service and reading from a book held by a monk reflects an action based ultimately on an actual observed rite, often repeated and conventionalized in art since the Carolingian period.

Another, even more richly illustrated Saint's Life with thirty-one scenes, likewise from the end of the eleventh century, is that of St. Radegonde, who lived and died in Poitiers, where the manuscript was produced and where it

<sup>1</sup> F. Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 35 (1952–53), 248 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. fol. 56–58: A. Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale* (Augsburg, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> H. Schrade, *Die Vita des Heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder* (Münster, 1960).

is still kept today.<sup>4</sup> In one of its forceful and expressive miniatures (fig. 2), Radegonde washes the feet of the poor, just as Christ had washed the feet of the Apostles, a scene that obviously served as the model. The subsequent scene of the Saint serving the poor seems likewise inspired by a New Testament scene. Poitiers was a lesser center of book illumination, and this illustrated *Vita* of St. Radegonde is perhaps its most ambitious product. Well appreciated in this city, the miniatures served as models for the stained glass windows of the Collegiate Church of St. Radegonde in Poitiers.

As a third example, I should like to cite one of the three Lives of St. Amandus now in the Municipal Library of Valenciennes, all executed at St. Amand. The earliest of these, cod. 502 from the second half of the eleventh century (fig. 3),<sup>5</sup> has a cycle even richer than those of the two previously discussed *Vitae*. Altogether there are forty-six miniature strips, some of which have two scenes side by side. In a dense narrative, a single episode is often depicted in quickly following events. For example, the sick Prior of Elnon is brought in by boat under the watchful eye of Amandus, who then is called to his sickbed, where he gives a monk a chalice and a loaf to pass on to the sick man. Again, conventional and more individualized actions intermingle.

It is significant that these three manuscripts and others with similar narrative cycles of Saints' Lives were all produced in the places where their respective saints were buried. Here such cycles were invented for books which seem not always to have been kept in the general monastic libraries but, according to Francis Wormald, in special places close to the tombs.<sup>6</sup> It is also significant that many *libelli*, like those of the Lives of Liudger and Radegonde, were *unica*, and only the Lives of Saints of national or supernational importance were copied in other centers to which the cults of the respective saints had spread. All these observations should be kept in mind when considering the Greek Lives of Saints and their illustrations, to which we shall now turn.

In the Middle Byzantine period we meet, in contrast to the great diversity in the Latin West, a very centralized culture dominated by the city of Constantinople, which as its arbiter developed a style that became more or less the artistic standard for the whole orthodox world. Here in the capital, at the turn of the tenth century, Symeon Metaphrastes wrote an extensive compendium in ten volumes, over which the Lives are very unevenly distributed: September and October occupy one volume each; November, December, and January require two volumes for each month; February, March, and April fill the ninth volume; and the remaining four months fill the tenth.<sup>7</sup> No doubt there existed

<sup>4</sup> E. Ginot, "Le Manuscrit de Sainte Radegonde de Poitiers et ses peintures du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à peintures*, 4 (1914-20).

<sup>5</sup> B. Krusch and W. Levison, in MGH, *ScriptRerMerov*, V (1910), 415ff. and pls. 2-18 (here as cod. 607); A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), 57, 96, 114, and pls. 50-51; Wormald, *op. cit.*, 257.

<sup>6</sup> F. Wormald, "The Monastic Library," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore, 1974), 95.

<sup>7</sup> A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I-III, TU, 50-52 (Leipzig, 1937-52), esp. II, 306ff.



extensive collections of the Lives of the Saints before Metaphrastes, but only sparse remnants have come down to us, and the Metaphrastian collection has superseded them to become the generally accepted version in the Greek Church.

The great majority of the Lives were without illustrations, as is true in the Latin West, and wherever illustrations occur they were introduced sparingly, the norm being one picture at the beginning of each *Vita* (only on occasion is there a second picture at the end). Yet while the figural initial is the familiar form in many Latin manuscripts, as in the Stuttgart *Passionale* cited above, Byzantine book illumination preferred the miniature, with or without frame, within the writing column.

I should like to demonstrate the various types of illustrations of Byzantine Saints' Lives with one specific example where good fortune has provided us with unusually rich evidence: the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste—Auxentios, Mardarios, Eugenios, Orestes, and their leader Eustratios. They were martyred under the Emperor Diocletian, and their calendar day is December 13.

There are two basic types of picture—as in the Latin West—commemorating a single saint or a group of saints: frontal standing saints in hieratic poses, and narrative scenes with particular emphasis on the martyrdom. The standing saint or saints is more common in the extant menologia, usually placed at the head of the *Vita*, while the scenic representation can also be used as a title miniature or, in a few richer manuscripts, as a second miniature at the end of the *Vita*. There is an eleventh-century volume, the fifth in a now dispersed set, containing the Lives from the first half of the month of December, in the Ambrosian Library in Milan<sup>8</sup> which has both, the Five Martyrs lined up in a row at the beginning of the *Vita* and their martyrdom in a miniature at the end. Between a conventional headpiece and the title itself the Five Martyrs are lined up, clearly individualized (fig. 4) and, on the basis of an inscribed icon (fig. 14) to be discussed later, identifiable. From left to right we see: Orestes, the youngest, depicted as a soldier with spear and shield because he was renowned for his spearmanship; Eugenios, the second youngest, clad in a long embroidered tunic and a chlamys and holding the cross of martyrdom; Eustratios, appropriately in the center, wearing over his long tunic an individualized costume—a mantle clasped over the breast—and holding a scroll; Auxentios, grey-haired, but otherwise resembling Eugenios; and Mardarios in a short tunic and characterized by a red fur cap.

The miniature at the end of the *Vita* (fig. 5) depicts in three rows the scenes of martyrdom. They follow the sequence of the text, with the exception of the first martyrdom, that of Auxentios, which instead of appearing at the beginning occupies the very center of the composition in marked isolation. With fettered hands he bends forward awaiting the deadly stroke of the executioner's blade (the sword is rubbed). At the upper left Mardarios is hanged head down, and two youths flanking him wield iron hooks as implements of martyr-

<sup>8</sup> Cod. E.89 inf.: A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, II (Milan, 1906), 1087; M. Gengaro, F. Leoni, and G. Villa, *Codici decorati e miniati dell'Ambrosiana. Ebraici e Greci* (Milan [n.d.]), 124ff. and note 34.

dom. Next Eugenios, clad in a loincloth and lying on his belly, is beaten by two torturers before they cut off his hands and feet (his ankles and wrists are already marked). Nearly the whole lower register is occupied by the martyrdom of Orestes, who is burned on an iron grid. Before him stands Eustratios, forced to witness the death of his beloved follower. Behind Eustratios, a soldier, taking care that the orders are carried out, has purposely been rubbed off by a pious hand—a quite common occurrence in Byzantine manuscripts. To the right a rectangular piece of parchment has been cut out: it can only have contained the death of the fifth martyr, Eustratios himself, who was burned as he stood erect in the flames (cf. fig. 9). Here a pious hand has apparently secured for himself a talisman.

Both types of miniature are quite frequently taken over into other service books where the readings are arranged in the order of the calendar, as, e.g., in the second part of a Gospel lectionary, which is also sometimes termed a menologion or synaxarion. There is such a lectionary from the eleventh century in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1156,<sup>9</sup> on one of whose pages the saints from December 4 to December 13, beginning with John of Damascus at the upper left and ending with the Five Martyrs of Sebaste at the lower right (fig. 6), are depicted in precisely the manner in which they appear in the Milan manuscript but in a slightly different order, Auxentios and Eugenios being exchanged.

The earliest example of the second type known so far is in the well-known codex Vaticanus gr. 1613, written for Basil II at the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century.<sup>10</sup> This manuscript is not a true menologion, but a synaxary, since it contains only very brief epitomes and not the full text. It includes only the first half of the calendar year from September to February, and a second volume is apparently lost. Among its more than four hundred pictures, each signed by one of eight artists, there is one illustrating the deaths of the Martyrs of Sebaste, signed by the painter Nestor (fig. 7).<sup>11</sup> As in the Milan miniature, the scenes are not lined up in the sequence of the text, but are rearranged according to artistic convenience. The first Saint to give his life was the white-haired Auxentios, here dressed only in a loincloth, and as usual decapitated by an executioner. There follows in the upper left Mardarios, hanged upside down and tortured by one executioner with an iron hook. Then Eugenios' hands are cut off and his shin bones broken, his torturers being omitted here. The next event is the discovery of the head of Auxentios, revealed by a crow

<sup>9</sup> K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), 156, 160, pls. XIII, 1-4, XVIII, 1-2 (repr. in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* [Chicago, 1971], 251-52, 256-57, 295-97, figs. 192, 235-38, 243-44, 297-99); *idem*, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (London-New York-Oxford, 1967), 219, pl. 33a-b.

<sup>10</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti, VIII (facsimile, Turin, 1907).

<sup>11</sup> About the painters' signatures, cf. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1970), 199ff., 260, pls. LV-LVI; I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologion of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 245ff. (here further bibliography concerning the controversy over the artists' signatures).

in a tree top, and then follows the martyrdom of Orestes, burned on an iron grid. At the right, between two bodyguards, stands Agricolaos the archon, supervising the execution ordered by Duke Lysias, but the onlooking Eustratios is omitted. It must come as a surprise that the martyrdom of the fifth, Eustratios, is omitted, especially since he is the chief martyr. This can only be explained by the fact that the artist had insufficient space to copy a more extensive model, one so rich that it could not be contained in a single miniature, or that this particular martyrdom had already been lost in a model like that of the Milan manuscript.

As mentioned before, Nestor was one of eight artists engaged in painting the more than four hundred miniatures; the chief painter in this group was Pantoleon. It has been shown to be very plausible that this is the same Pantoleon who, as the *Vita* of Athanasios, the founder of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, tells us, was an icon painter in Constantinople at about the same time the Basil Menologion was produced.<sup>12</sup> That the same painters produced miniatures and icons is corroborated by visual evidence that especially in the eleventh century there existed a large group of icons in a very outspoken miniature style.<sup>13</sup>

Nowhere is this more evident than in the calendar icons, of which three complete sets and a major portion of a fourth, from the eleventh to the early thirteenth century, exist among the great riches of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.<sup>14</sup> In view of the fragmentary miniature cycles, these icons provide primary evidence for filling the gaps in the miniature tradition. In the most delicate miniature-like style of the late eleventh century is a diptych with the saints of the whole year distributed over two wings, altogether eight rows of figures and groups of figures lined up in frontal poses and carefully inscribed.<sup>15</sup> In the fifth row on the left wing (the third row in fig. 8) stand the five Martyrs of Sebaste, similar to the group we have seen in the Vatican Lectionary (fig. 6), but more condensed because of the need to economize space.

In a second set from about the same date, the saints of the calendar year are distributed over four panels which were framed by two more with a New Testament cycle and the Last Judgment.<sup>16</sup> Here the types are mixed: wherever possible the painter preferred a scene, chiefly a martyrdom, over frontal standing figures. The second wing, comprising the months from December to February, includes also the Five Martyrs of Sebaste (fig. 9) in an iconography that follows so closely that of the miniatures of the Milan and Basil Menologia that a common archetype is obvious. In the center once more is the decapitation of the white-haired Auxentios, fettered and bending over and fully clothed as in Milan; Mardarios, his figure mostly flaked, is hanging upside down, but no torturers are shown; Eugenios looks at his maimed hands

<sup>12</sup> I. Ševčenko, "On Pantoleon the Painter," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), 241 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," 213 and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I (Athens, 1956), figs. 126-44; II (1958), 115 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 119 f., figs. 131-35.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 121 ff., figs. 136-43; Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," 220, pl. 35. The inscriptions are in Greek and Georgian.

as in the Basil Menologion; and Orestes lies on his belly on the burning iron grid. Yet there are also differences: the icon lacks the head of Auxentios in the tree and the group with Agricolaos or the onlooking Eustratios; it does, however, contain the fifth martyr, Eustratios, standing in a fire, which is lost in the Milan manuscript. All three compositions are abbreviated, thus fortifying the evidence that we are dealing with epitomes of larger cycles.

The existence of a more comprehensive picture cycle is confirmed by the twelfth-century codex Esphigmenu 14 on Mount Athos. This luxurious volume contains only eight Metaphrastes Lives selected from the four months from September through December, plus a very extensively illustrated homily on the Birth of Christ attributed by some scholars to John of Euboea.<sup>17</sup> Presumably there existed two more volumes in the set, each covering four months. Each of the eight Lives in the Esphigmenu codex had a frontispiece of purple-stained parchment (only the miniatures of the Five Martyrs lack the purple stain) painted on recto and verso in two or three registers with rich narrative cycles. However, two of the original set are lost.

As in the miniatures of the menologia in Milan and the Vatican, the Esphigmenu cycle of the five Saints centers on the scenes of martyrdom, and here, too, they do not follow the sequence of the text, but a different arrangement (figs. 10–11). Compared with the previously discussed monuments, the individual scenes are not only denser, but the iconography is different; thus one must conclude that the Esphigmenu cycle harks back to a different archetype.

It begins with Eustratios, covered by his characteristic mantle thrice clasped over the breast, defending the white-haired Auxentios before the enthroned Duke Lysias, who is attended by two bodyguards. The inclusion of the other three martyrs does not conform to the text and must be explained as artistic license, attempting to give the introductory scene the character of a frontispiece. Below follows the beheading of Auxentios which, contrary to the scenes in the Milan and Vatican Menologia and the Sinai icon, has already been accomplished; the executioner is putting his sword back into the sheath. In the background tree is the martyr's head and the crow which has revealed it—a feature described much later in the text (cf. fig. 7). We then jump to the upper row of the verso where Mardarios is hanged—here in profile instead of frontal view—and scraped; in addition we see Agricolaos the archon, witnessing the martyrdom from a window. Returning to the recto, the remaining scene shows Eugenios already maimed—here lying on his back instead of on his belly or bending over—with a torturer beating him, the two actions being conflated. Then, in the correct order on the verso, follows the martyrdom of Orestes, lying on his back in the midst of licking flames on the iron grid with Eustratios standing behind instead of at his head (cf. fig. 5), forced to witness his friend's death. The final scene is the martyrdom of Eustratios himself,

<sup>17</sup> H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), 192, 228, pl. 26; F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos* (Munich, 1943), 174, fig. 94; K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), 89–90 with plate; *idem*, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," 213, pl. 17; S. M. Pelekanides, P. C. Christou, C. Tsioumis, and S. N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, II (Athens, 1975), figs. 327 ff., pp. 361 ff., esp. figs. 340–41, pp. 369–70.

standing with an orant gesture in a furnace, not just a flame as in the Sinai icon (cf. fig. 9). An executioner is fanning the fire while Agricolaos, enthroned, is witnessing the scene. This scene is not in conformity with the text, and we obviously have here a conflation with a scene where Eustratios confronted Agricolaos for the last time before being led away to his death. Such conflations are a sure indication that, again, we are dealing with the condensation of a richer cycle, an assumption that is justified by the existence of a much more extensive cycle.

This leads to the core of our investigation, a twelfth-century manuscript in the University Library in Turin, cod. B.II.4, whose 170 folios are solely filled with the Metaphrastes text of the martyrdoms of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste (fig. 13).<sup>18</sup> An outspoken luxury manuscript, each of its pages is laid out in two columns, the inner one filled with the text written in widely spaced lines in a large, stylish minuscule, the outer reserved for the narrative illustrations. The very wide margins are almost ostentatiously wasteful.

Facing the beginning of the text is a full-page frontispiece which shows the five Saints lined up in frontal position, each holding a cross of martyrdom, while an angel hovers over them holding crowns of martyrdom (fig. 12). This composition, while suitable for a frontispiece, is at the same time iconic in character, and, having noted previously the close relationship between miniature and icon painting with some painters working in both media, I find it hardly surprising to see the very same composition in icon painting.

There is on Sinai an icon from the early thirteenth century in which the Five Martyrs, with sensitive faces but somewhat damaged and overpainted garments, are lined up in similar frontal, hieratic poses, a Deesis in bust form over their heads replacing the crowning angel (fig. 14).<sup>19</sup> The martyrs are identified by inscriptions, from left to right: Mardarios with a fur cap and middle-aged; Auxentios, white-haired; Eustratios with a pointed beard; Eugenios with a light beard; and Orestes, beardless. The individuality of the Saints rests not so much on the facial characteristics as on the differences of the beards, indicating their ages. The same distinction prevails also in the non-inscribed Turin miniature, in which, on the basis of the icon, the saints can now be identified. Here they are not only similarly characterized, but are given in the same, although reversed, order: Mardarios stands now at the right corner next to the white-haired Auxentios, Eustratios retains the center, and to his right are the light-bearded Eugenios and the beardless Orestes. In spite of this agreement in composition and hairstyle, miniature and icon belong to two different traditions, since in the icon Eustratios is depicted in the same clasped mantle we saw in the Esphigmenu miniatures (figs. 10–11), while in the Turin manuscript he wears the same chlamys with tablion as the others.

<sup>18</sup> G. L. Pasini, *Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei* (Turin 1749), 182, Codex LXXXIX c IV.3; Ehrhard, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), III, 947; K. Weitzmann, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 85f., figs. 24a–b. The manuscript measures 30.8 x 23.5 cm. For the text of the *Vita*, cf. PG, 116, cols. 468ff.

<sup>19</sup> Unpublished; it measures 38.5 x 36.5 cm.

Despite the fact that a considerable number of miniatures have been cut out of the manuscript, thirteen narrative scenes are still left. The first (fig. 15) shows Eustratios, still a high court official, dressed in an ornate chlamys, blue for purple, standing before the enthroned Duke Lysias and defending the white-haired presbyter Auxentios, who will be the first to be martyred and thus holds in anticipation the cross of martyrdom (PG, 116, col. 471f., § VI). This is the same subject we saw commencing the cycle of the Esphigmenu manuscript (fig. 10), but the types are different and it will become clear as we proceed that this is a different picture recension.

As the result of his courageous defense of Auxentios, Eustratios is deprived of his rank and imprisoned. The next picture (fig. 16) shows him enduring his first ordeal: he walks in sandals fitted with nails that hurt him at every step, while the white-haired Auxentios and two other fellow prisoners follow bare-foot (§ XII).

The conduct of Eustratios inspires Mardarios to leave his wife and two children and follow him (§ XIII). Thus, we see Mardarios (fig. 17) holding his two children affectionately in his arms, and standing between columns and curtains that suggest the home he is leaving, although the rather conventional architectural elements are derived from the Porta Regia of a Roman *scenae frons*.

Meanwhile, Auxentios is condemned to death by decapitation (§ XV). His hands fettered behind his back, he bends over, calmly awaiting the stroke of the executioner's blade (fig. 18). Unlike the miniature in the Esphigmenu manuscript where the decapitation has already been accomplished (fig. 10), the Turin miniature follows closely the Basil Menologion (fig. 7), and even more closely the Milan Menologion and the calendar icon of Sinai (figs. 5, 9), where Auxentios is fully dressed, while in the Vatican miniature he wears only a loincloth. The basic compositional agreement between these four monuments justifies the assumption that they all derive from a common archetype.

In the following scene (fig. 19) it is Mardarios' turn to confess before the enthroned Lysias that he is a Christian (§ XVI). The artist uses the same compositional scheme as in the initial scene of Eustratios before Lysias (fig. 15), who once more is dressed in a luxurious chlamys with an allover pattern, while Mardarios, like a court official, wears a chlamys with a blue-purple tablion.

Now Orestes appears, a youthful soldier whose skill Lysias has noticed (fig. 20). The enthroned duke orders Orestes to throw the lance which he holds in his hand at a target (§ XVIII). Throwing off his mantle, Orestes reveals around his neck a cross which catches Lysias' attention. The miniature shows Lysias taking the golden cross into his hands and questioning Orestes about it.

Uneasy about the growing number of Christians around him, Lysias has Orestes taken prisoner also, and in the next picture (fig. 21) he sends him together with Eustratios, identifiable by his beard, to the Archon Agricolaos to deal with them (§ XIX). Fettered and barefoot, the two prisoners are led away by a guard like dogs on a leash, accompanied by a messenger who carries Lysias' letter to Agricolaos.

On their way to Sebaste, Eustratios asks Orestes what he knows about the

death of Auxentios. Orestes tells how the Christians had searched in vain for the severed head until a crow revealed it high in a tree (§ XX). This is the situation depicted in the next miniature (fig. 22). The strangeness of this story must have fascinated the illustrators, because we see it as an additional scene closely attached to the martyrdom proper in the abbreviated cycles of the Vatican and the Esphigmenu Menologia (figs. 7, 10); but since this scene hardly permits any variations, it does not help to clarify the two different recensions.

Meanwhile, the two fettered prisoners and their guard arrive at Sebaste (fig. 23) and the messenger hands over Lysias' letter to Agricolaos (§ XXI), who, hardly distinguished in appearance from Lysias, sits in front of the city which, in the continuing Greco-Roman tradition, is depicted as a round city wall with a huge gate; from behind the wall curious citizens look down with keen interest upon the arrival of the prisoners.

Of the two prisoners Orestes is to die first, and the ordeal chosen for him is by fire on an iron grid (fig. 24). Stripped to the waist, he stands at the prison gate and looks apprehensively and for a moment even timidly—so the text says—at the licking flames, touching his throat nervously (§ XXVIII).

Then Agricolaos makes one last attempt to persuade Eustratios to worship the pagan idols (§ XXXI); after this fails he condemns him to death also (fig. 25). In order to make the scene convey the impression of the legal procedure of a Roman court, the archon, with his bodyguards behind him, sits behind a table while the courtroom is pictorialized by a colonnade. Eustratios, with covered hands, stands meekly before the judge and hears the verdict. Obviously this composition is patterned after that of Christ before Pilate, so impressively depicted in the Rossano Gospels.<sup>20</sup>

Before his death Eustratios prays to the Lord (§ XXXII) and prostrates himself like Christ in Gethsemane or the repentant David (fig. 26). Christ appears in heaven and blesses the Saint. The void between these two figures is used to great artistic advantage to express the Saint's humility. The building, similar to the prison in some of the previous miniatures, may, because of the curtain in the huge entrance gate, have been understood here as a church.

The final miniature shows a conflation of two consecutive scenes, with Eustratios depicted twice (fig. 27). First he approaches the fire that is to consume him and—as the text tells us—blesses it (§ XXXIII); then he appears as he does in the calendar icon of Sinai (fig. 9), naked in the flames in the pose of an Orant, just like the Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, who most likely inspired the artist. Here we find yet another confirmation of the previous assertion that the Turin picture cycle follows a different tradition than that of the Esphigmenu Menologion, where Eustratios is depicted not naked in an open fire, but fully dressed in a furnace (fig. 11), thus even more closely associated with the Three Hebrews.

It must come as a surprise that the miniature cycle in its present state of preservation contains depictions of only two of the five martyrdoms, those of

<sup>20</sup> W. C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *ArtB*, 43 (1961), 173ff.

Auxentios and Eustratios, while those of Mardarios, Eugenios, and Orestes are missing. Now, a careful investigation of the manuscript reveals that in many places halves of pages which surely contained miniatures are cut away. In some cases traces of color remain on the opposite pages, and in others parts of the frame were left as the result of careless cutting. To be precise, there are twenty-three such cuts, and, furthermore, in at least one more case a whole page, presumably also with a miniature, has been excised. The number of twenty-four lost miniatures may not even be complete, since in a few cases there may have been miniatures on recto and verso of the same page. This means that altogether the manuscript had two or three times as many miniatures as remain today. The three lost martyrdom scenes must have resembled those of the two menologia as, it will be remembered, the two preserved scenes do (figs. 5, 7). In many cases, on the basis of the accompanying text we can be quite sure what the subjects must have been. So, e.g., of the four miniatures preceding the first extant narrative miniature, three can be determined with a high degree of probability: Lysias and Agricolaos sent to Magna Armenia and Cappadocia to halt defections; Eustratios sending his girdle to Auxentios to have it deposited on the altar; and Eustratios and Eugenios, the future comartyrs, conversing during a symposium.<sup>21</sup> In some cases we are left to hypothesize. The disputation between Eustratios and Agricolaos, e.g., goes on for many chapters without giving the illustrator a chance to illustrate action. Yet there are within this section half-pages cut out, indicating lost miniatures. There are two possibilities: either a conversation scene is monotonously repeated, which occurs in Byzantine miniature painting—for which the Book of Job is a classic example<sup>22</sup>—or the content of the conversation is illustrated, for which, likewise, parallels exist in the Job manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Eustratios, e.g., discusses the despicable behavior of the pagan gods, such as the patricide of Zeus who ejected Cronos from heaven. One will recall similar passages actually

<sup>21</sup> A complete list of the half-cut pages suggests with varying degrees of certainty lost miniatures with the following subjects: 1. Fol. 7a<sup>r</sup>: Lysias and Agricolaos are sent to Magna Armenia (PG, 116, col. 467f., § II). 2. Fol. 19<sup>v</sup>: Eustratios sends his girdle to Auxentios (§ IV). 3. Fol. 24<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: groups of prisoners pray for Eustratios (§ V). 4. Fol. 30<sup>v</sup>: Lysias orders Eustratios to be deprived of his cloak and girdle (§ VI). 6. Fol. 36<sup>v</sup>: Eustratios confesses to being a Christian and displays a cross (§ VII). 7. Missing fol. between 47 and 48: Eustratios shows his body miraculously unlacerated (§ X). 8. Fol. 52<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Eustratios and Eugenios are thrown into prison (§ XI). 9. Fol. 69<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Eustratios fortifies Mardarios for his impending martyrdom (§ XVI). 10. Fol. 75<sup>r</sup>: martyrdom of Mardarios, being hanged upside down (§ XVI). 11. Fol. 75<sup>v</sup> or missing leaf: martyrdom of Eugenios, being maimed (§ XVII). 12. Fol. 96<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Agricolaos orders Eustratios and Orestes to be thrown into prison (§ XXI). 13. Fol. 97<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Eustratios and Orestes are brought before Agricolaos (§ XXI). 14. Fol. 98<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Agricolaos and Eustratios argue (§ XXI). 15–20. Fols. 101<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>, 111<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>, 113<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>, 116<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Eustratios and Agricolaos(?) (§ XXI–XXIII). 21. Fol. 150<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Orestes is burned on an iron grid (§ XXVIII). 22. Fol. 151<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Agricolaos orders Eustratios thrown into prison (§ XXVIII). 23. Fol. 153<sup>v</sup>: Eustratios dictates his testament to his famulus (§ XXIX). 24. Fol. 167<sup>r</sup> or <sup>v</sup>: Angels receive the soul of Eustratios(?) (§ XXXII).

<sup>22</sup> Most obvious in the ninth-century codex Vatic. gr. 749: K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 77ff., pls. LXXXIV–LXXXV; A. Grabar, *Les Manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne* (Paris, 1972), 16ff., pls. 1–3; Weitzmann, "Selection of Texts," 75, figs. 6a–b.

<sup>23</sup> There is in the ninth-century Sacra Parallela manuscript in Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 923, a literal illustration of Job 7: 9–10: "he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more." See K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Graecus 923*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, VIII (Princeton, 1979), pl. LVI, 219.



being illustrated in some homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus,<sup>24</sup> and thus there is a good possibility that such scenes may have taken the place of repetitious conversations in our manuscript. The martyrdom scenes may have attracted pious monks who cut them out for worship or as talismans, while the scenes of mythology may have incited the monks to destroy them.

The great importance of the Turin manuscript lies, of course, in that it proves the existence in Byzantine art of single, richly illustrated Saints' Lives comparable to the *libelli* of the Latin West. Now, it will be remembered that each of the three *libelli* discussed at the beginning of this paper was produced at the burial place of its respective Saint: the Liudger *Vita* in Werden, the Radegonde *Vita* in Poitiers, and the Amandus *Vita* in St. Amand. In analogy, one should raise the question whether the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste could have been produced in Sebaste, or rather in Arauraka in Armenia, where according to a text published by Halkin<sup>25</sup> the martyrdom of Eustratios has been located. The locality of Eustratios' martyrdom is not explicitly given in the Metaphrastes *Vita*, and Sebaste does play an important role as the seat of Agricolaos, the archon, to whom Eustratios is led. But Arauraka is mentioned in the Metaphrastes text as the place where Eustratios was born (Par. VII) and where the relics of St. Mardarios were deposited (Par. XX). The provenance of the Turin manuscript sheds little light on this problem. It was bought in 1437 in Alexandria in Syria, the modern Alexandretta. Stylistically only one thing is sure: it was not made in Constantinople. The design, avoiding crumpled folds and clearly patterned highlights, differs from the style of the capital as does the coloration, with a preference for steel blue, parallels for which can be found in manuscripts tentatively localized in Asia Minor.<sup>26</sup> The Cappadocian frescoes are of little help since they are—despite a local strain—on the whole comparatively closer to the style of the capital or, to put it the other way around, our manuscript is further removed from the style of Constantinople. One manuscript with miniatures remotely related in style is a twelfth-century Psalter in Vatopedi on Mt. Athos, cod. 760, which Kondakov called "East Byzantine"<sup>27</sup> and Millet and Der Nersessian localized in Anatolia.<sup>28</sup> The origin of the Turin manuscript in eastern Anatolia and in Sebaste, or rather in Arauraka, in particular must be considered a serious possibility, though more precise proof cannot be adduced at the present state of scholarship.

Our knowledge of illustrations from the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste is not exhausted with the Turin manuscript. There exists still another rich narrative cycle, not in a manuscript, but in icon painting. The collection in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, which among its many treasures

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951). Cf. especially the illustrations to the two homilies *Funebris in laudem Basilii Magni* and *In Sancta Lumina*.

<sup>25</sup> F. Halkin, "L'Épilogue d'Eusèbe de Sébastée à la Passion de S. Eustrate et de ses compagnons," *AnalBoll*, 88 (1970), 282ff. I am grateful to Dr. Nancy Ševčenko for calling this reference to my attention.

<sup>26</sup> Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 59ff., 65ff.

<sup>27</sup> N. P. Kondakov, *Pamjatniki Hristianskago iskusstva na Afoně* (St. Petersburg, 1902), 286, fig. 99.

<sup>28</sup> G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, "Le Psautier arménien illustré," *REArm*, 9 (1929), 165, pls. XIII–XIV.

brought to light a series of scenic iconostasis beams, includes one which is unusual in that it represents not the familiar cycle of the twelve great feasts, the so-called dodecaorton, but various deeds of the Five Martyrs (figs. 28–39).<sup>29</sup> Under twelve arches are eleven scenes, five to the left and six to the right of a Deesis, which is here off-center but is normally in the center when the arches are odd in number. The beam, now exhibited in a side chapel of the basilica, was made for a small chapel dedicated to the Five Martyrs which still exists within the walls of the monastery—in itself proof of how widespread the cult of the Five Martyrs was in the orthodox world.

The iconography is totally different from that of all the miniature cycles seen so far. The scenes do not illustrate martyrdoms but miracles, all performed by Eustratios himself assisted, however, in one case by the other four martyrs. There must have existed a text of the θαύματα or *Miracula* by which the scenes could be explained in detail, but such a text has not survived and, thus, the pictures become the prime evidence for its existence. For their interpretation we are now confined to the short *tituli* under the arches.

In the first scene the inscription tells us that Eustratios is healing a woman stricken with fever (fig. 28). It will be noticed that the woman on the sickbed is depicted twice, an indication that we are dealing with a conflation of two subsequent iconographic units and, thus, with an attempt to condense a larger narrative cycle. Eustratios bends over and raises his hand, a pose and a gesture typical of Christ in many healing scenes, making apparent the impact of New Testament illustrations. Because of the absence of the basic text the young man in the rich garment cannot be identified—perhaps he is the husband of the sick woman. It should be noted that Eustratios wears the same mantle, thrice clasped over the chest, as in the Esphigmenu Menologion (figs. 10, 11) and the Sinai icon with the Five Martyrs lined up in a row (fig. 14).

In the second scene Eustratios, according to the inscription, awakens a money changer (fig. 29). The basic composition is similar to the previous one save for two bystanders who seem to be young servants.

Then follows a scene in which Eustratios heals a demoniac, as the text says, in the presence of his relics (fig. 30). This can only mean that this miracle—and presumably all the others also—took place *after* the Saint's death whenever his presence was invoked. The presence of the relics is indicated by a reliquary chest in the covered hand of an elderly cleric standing at the right accompanied by two bystanders. The pose of the demoniac is obviously inspired by the one Christ heals in the country of the Gergesenes.

The next picture shows the healing of a man stricken with fever (fig. 31), in which the compositional scheme employed in the first two scenes is once again repeated. The woman in resplendent dress and high headgear may be the sick man's wife, surrounded and supported by four youths of the household.

<sup>29</sup> G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai* (note 14 *supra*), I, figs. 103–11; II, pp. 109–10; K. Weitzmann, "A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons Attributed to Cyprus," *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), 52ff., pl. 20a–b; *idem*, *The Icon. Holy Images—Sixth to Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), pl. 20.

Once more a sick man, this time stricken with frenzy, is healed by Eustratios through his relics (fig. 32). The same high cleric as in the third scene, here surrounded by four bystanders, holds the reliquary chest—this time with an uncovered hand—and the sick man leans upon it.

A Deesis group of a standard type with Christ standing interrupts the narrative cycle (fig. 33).

The second half of the beam begins with a scene in which a youth followed by a group of worshipers beats a *simandron* on the Saint's feast day, as the *titulus* states (fig. 34). The crowd has left the church to move to a second building, where a man in civilian dress looks down from a balcony at the procession. There is no way to know the identity of the man, nor is the *titulus* explicit enough to make the meaning of the encounter clear.

Even less intelligible is the next scene, where the inscription is so damaged that no meaningful reading has yet been proposed (fig. 35). Here we see the Saint on a white horse pointing at an elegantly dressed young man who stands, surrounded by other youths, in frontal pose and raises his hands in a gesture of worship. He wears a white cap like the man on the balcony in the preceding scene, but he looks slightly younger and, therefore, may not be identical with the other.

There follow two further healing scenes which are depicted in the same conventional scheme as the ones seen before. In the first (fig. 36), according to the *titulus*, Eustratios heals the daughter of Syncletica—apparently the rich lady heading the crowd of witnesses, who, like her daughter on the sickbed, wears a high headdress; in the second he heals a nun behind whose bed stands a group of nuns (fig. 37). The grateful healed nun worships the Saint with the gesture of an Orant.

The next scene shows greater originality of composition (fig. 38). Here not only Eustratios but the other four martyrs as well are involved in healing, as the *titulus* states, a mute and immobile woman. While Eustratios, larger in size than all the other figures, performs the healing in the usual manner by extending his hand, the other four assist by lifting the afflicted woman from the ground. Instead of rendering the whole group in a spatially convincing manner, the artist preferred to show each figure as fully as circumstances permitted, apparently not minding that the two saints in the rear appear to be suspended. Unlike in the Turin manuscript, where Auxentios is distinguishable by his white hair, he cannot be identified in the beam.

Finally, in the last scene, Eustratios heals a man afflicted, as the inscription tells us, by tetanus (fig. 39). The sick youth sits on a folding chair while, under the eyes of two bystanders, the elder cleric whom we know from two previous scenes holds the miracle-working reliquary chest over his head.

Where was this beam made? In their first publication, the Sotirious assumed that it was made in Sebaste proper because the *titulus* in the scene of the healing of the demoniac with the aid of the Saint's relics (fig. 30) uses the explicit phrase διὰ τῶν λιψάνων τῶν ἐνταῦθα—i.e., "through the relics here in this place." Yet the localization of the beam has its difficulties. Its style is so markedly

different from that of the Turin manuscript for which I have proposed an origin in Sebaste, or at least in eastern Asia Minor, that it is hardly conceivable that both monuments were made in the same place or even in the same region. Moreover, the beam can stylistically be grouped together with a considerable number of Sinai icons<sup>30</sup> whose closest parallels are frescoes from Cyprus, more specifically those of Asinou, dated in the years 1105–6.<sup>31</sup> Compared with the Turin manuscript, all these Sinai icons show a style on a whole closer to that of the capital and yet deviating from it in certain aspects. These deviations are not to be explained by lesser quality but rather by a lesser emphasis on classical formulae for body structure and fold treatment. The bodies are flatter and drapery and highlights have a tendency to relatively greater ornamentation. However, believing that the beam was painted by a Cypriot artist does not necessarily mean that it was made *at* Cyprus. Because of their predetermined length, beams were most likely made *ad hoc* at the place of their destination, in this case at Sinai. The monastery still possesses several estates, so-called *metochia*, on Cyprus, and the connection between the island and the monastery has been for centuries and is still very close.

It seems reasonable to assume that the source of the beam is an illustrated manuscript of the *Miracula*, and this, in turn, could have been produced in Sebaste. Thus, we come to the conclusion that there must have existed two richly illustrated texts concerned with the Five Martyrs of Sebaste. Of the first, concentrating on the stories of the martyrdoms, the Turin manuscript, with originally about thirty-seven scenes—richer than any of the three Western *libelli* I have cited—is the sole survivor; the second, centering on the Miracles, is represented by the Sinai beam, which with eleven scenes, adapted to the predetermined number of its arches, contains apparently only an epitomized cycle. There is a parallel in Western book illumination for the illustration of the *Vita* ending in martyrdom being followed by the saint's miracles after his death. The Morgan Library in New York possesses a luxuriously illustrated manuscript of the Life of St. Edmund from the early twelfth century, cod. M 736, with thirty-two impressive full-page miniatures, a manuscript made either at Bury St. Edmund or, as some scholars now believe, at St. Albans.<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that the miniature series relates to two texts, the *Passio* and the *Miracula*. A typical example from the *Passio* is the scene in which the severed head of the king is found by Edmund's countrymen in a thicket, guarded by a wolf (fig. 40), a *topos* that reminds one of the finding of the head of Auxentios in a tree where it had been guarded by a crow (fig. 22). To the *Miracula* relates a scene in which Edmund, after his death, appears in the bedchamber of King Sweyn of Denmark and transfixes him with a spear, because the Danish King had refused to exempt Edmund's church from tribute (fig. 41)—a less peaceful dream appearance than those of Eustratios performing

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*, "Group of Icons," pls. 21–24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 53, pl. 18a.

<sup>32</sup> The miniatures have never been completely published: M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain. The Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1954), 80, pls. 65, 66; O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Alban's Psalter* (London, 1960), *passim*, pls. 139, 150b, 159, 160 (here older bibliography).

healing miracles. The difference between the Eastern and Western cycles is that in the East the Eustratios cycles are separate entities, each originally attached to its own text, whereas in the Morgan manuscript the *Miracula* text follows immediately that of the *Passio*, and in the picture section preceding the combined texts the miniatures of the *Passio* and the *Miracula* form one unified cycle.

It must be reiterated that the evidence for large cycles in single Lives of Saints in Byzantine book illumination rests solely on the Turin manuscript. Yet there is no reason to assume that at the time of its creation this type of manuscript was unique. There must have existed more such richly illustrated Saints' Lives which are lost today. This is confirmed by the remains of some fragmentary or epitomized cycles of the Lives of other saints, some more and some less popular than the Five Martyrs of Sebaste.

I have already introduced the Esphigmenu Menologion as a striking example of an epitomized cycle from the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste (figs. 10, 11). The cycles of some of the other *Vitae* in this manuscript are epitomized in similar fashion, some to an equally extensive degree, while others have preserved a comparatively greater amount of the basic cycles.<sup>33</sup> Each of them is distributed over two full pages. The first Life at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year is that of Symeon Stylites (Sept. 1), which begins lavishly with only two scenes on the first page, but, by means of condensation has elements of at least four on the second. The story of Eustathios, or St. Eustace as he is better known (Sept. 22), begins with the most popular scene of the Saint pursuing a stag and yet not killing it, and extends over a total of six scenes, ending with his martyrdom and that of his family. Then follows the martyrdom of Artemios and his associates (Oct. 20) in eight scenes, and that of Arethas (Oct. 24) and his comartyrs in about the same number. Yet, when the painter deals with the Lives and martyrdoms of Menas, Hermogenes, and EUGRAPHOS (Dec. 10), he divides each of the two pages into three registers in order to accommodate more scenes from the model. Not counting some conflations, there are at least eighteen different actions involved, and yet we deal also in this case, as indicated by the conflations, with the epitome of a richer cycle. It is deplorable that two double miniatures have been cut out, those of the Life of Stephen the Younger (Nov. 28) and of St. Nicholas of Myra (Dec. 6), because they deal with particularly popular Saints. In the case of Nicholas this loss is especially serious because there is such a rich material of scenes for his Life preserved on the frames of icons and in frescoes, which would have been instructive to compare with a miniature cycle accompanying the Metaphrastes Life.

A comprehensive study of all illustrated Greek menologia does not exist. Their full publication would no doubt reveal sporadic narrative scenes for many more Lives.<sup>34</sup> However, whether there will ever be found another menolo-

<sup>33</sup> *Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, figs. 327-36, pl. 362ff.

<sup>34</sup> A basic study on this subject has been made by S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustration of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 222ff.

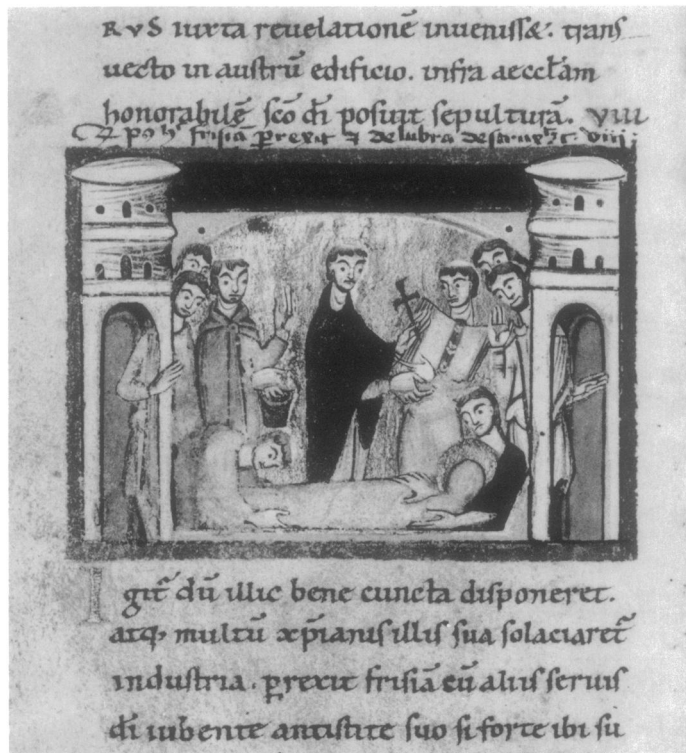
gion with such large epitomized cycles as the Esphigmenu manuscript, or one with a full cycle such as the Turin codex, is vain speculation. We must be resigned to the realization that we will never know the full extent of illustrated Saints' Lives in Byzantine book illumination.

Yet, other unexpected evidence has come to light, provided by the derivative material of icons. I have noted before that icon and miniature painting are so closely allied in those centuries we are dealing with that it is legitimate to take icons as primary evidence for lost miniatures. In the twelfth century, or perhaps already in the eleventh, it became customary to paint on the frame of an icon depicting a saint stories of his Life, and in many cases these follow, where it existed, the Metaphrastian *Vita*. For example, on an icon with a life-size bust of St. Panteleimon on Mount Sinai, the Saint's life is illustrated in sixteen scenes from his childhood to his death. For some of these, parallels can actually be found in an illustrated menologion, as, e.g., the scene of the Saint healing a boy bitten by a snake, which occurs in a manuscript in Moscow, Hist. Museum cod. 382(9), dated A.D. 1063.<sup>35</sup>

For many such icons the number of sixteen narrative scenes is common, with four on a side, though there are some icons with fewer and others with more. If we can take the Turin manuscript or, for that matter, the cited Western *libelli* as a guide, the average full cycle in a manuscript contains about thirty scenes. Actually, from the study of icons such as that with St. Panteleimon, we can expect a greater increase in our knowledge of narrative scenes from Saints' Lives than from the manuscripts from which they ultimately derive.

The Turin manuscript has become a focal point for the study of Byzantine hagiographical illustration; it has shed new light on a chapter of Byzantine book illumination that might easily have been lost were it not for the reappearance of this manuscript.

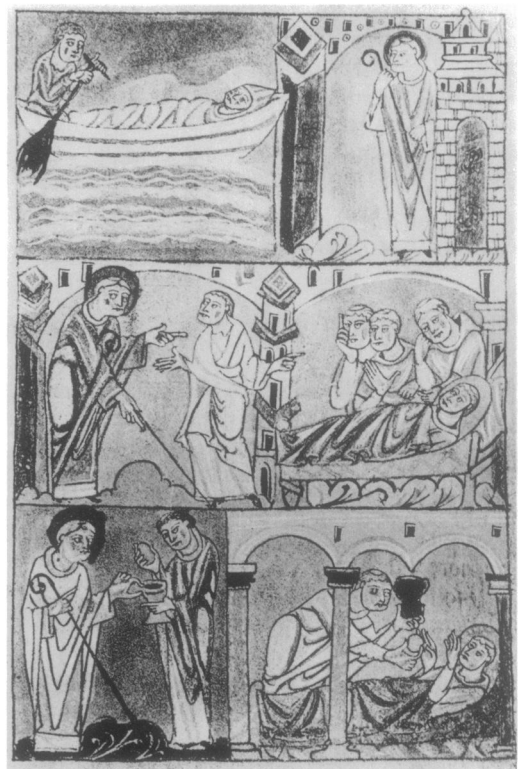
<sup>35</sup> Weitzmann, "Selection of Texts" (note 18 *supra*), 85, figs. 22-23.



1. Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek,  
cod. theol. lat., fol. 323, *Vita Sti. Liudgeri*, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>



2. Poitiers, Bibl. Municipale, cod. 250,  
*Vita Stae. Radegundis*, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>



3. Valenciennes, Bibl. Municipale,  
cod. 502, *Vita Sti. Amandi*, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>





4. Fol. 211r, The Five Martyrs



5. Fol. 234r, The Five Martyrs

Milan, Ambrosian Library, cod. E.89 inf.





6. Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1156, fol. 270v,  
Saints from the Month of December



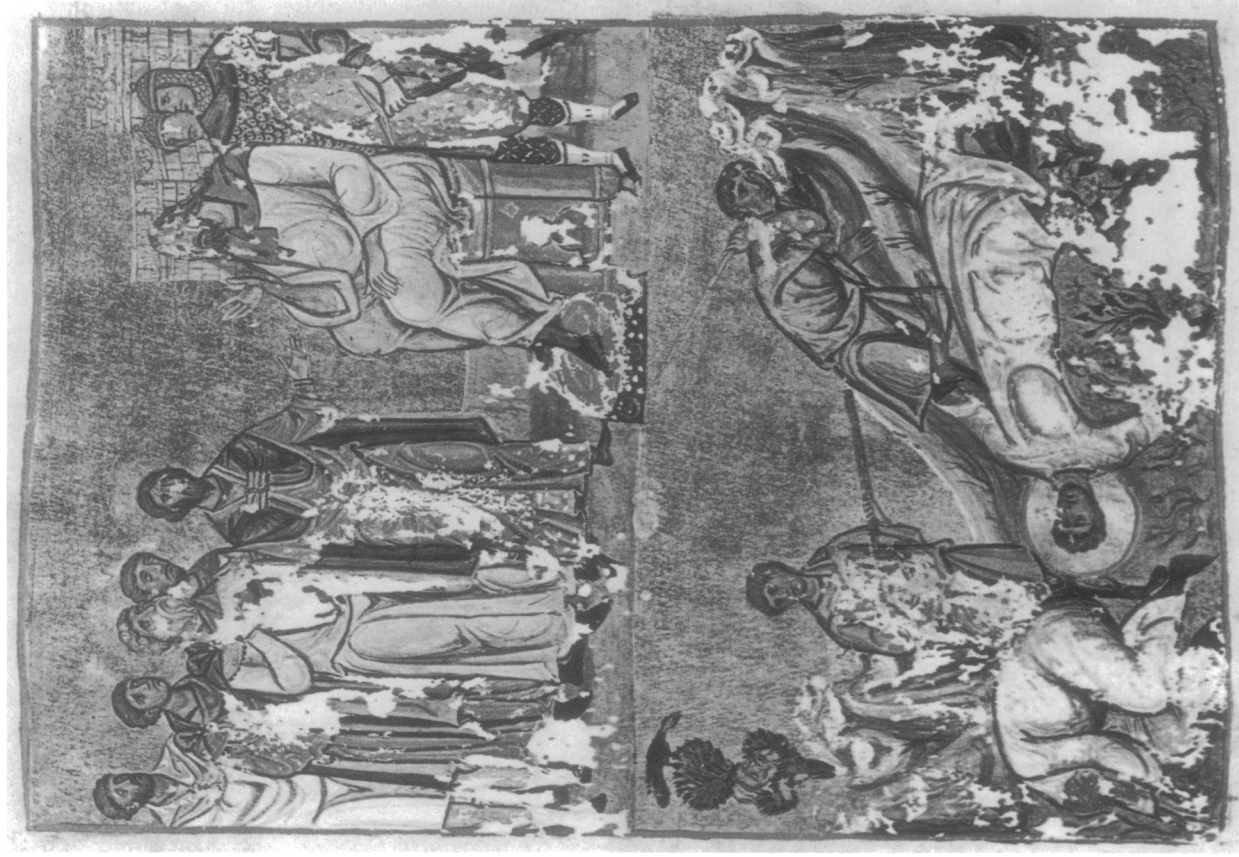
7. Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1613, pag. 241, The Five Martyrs



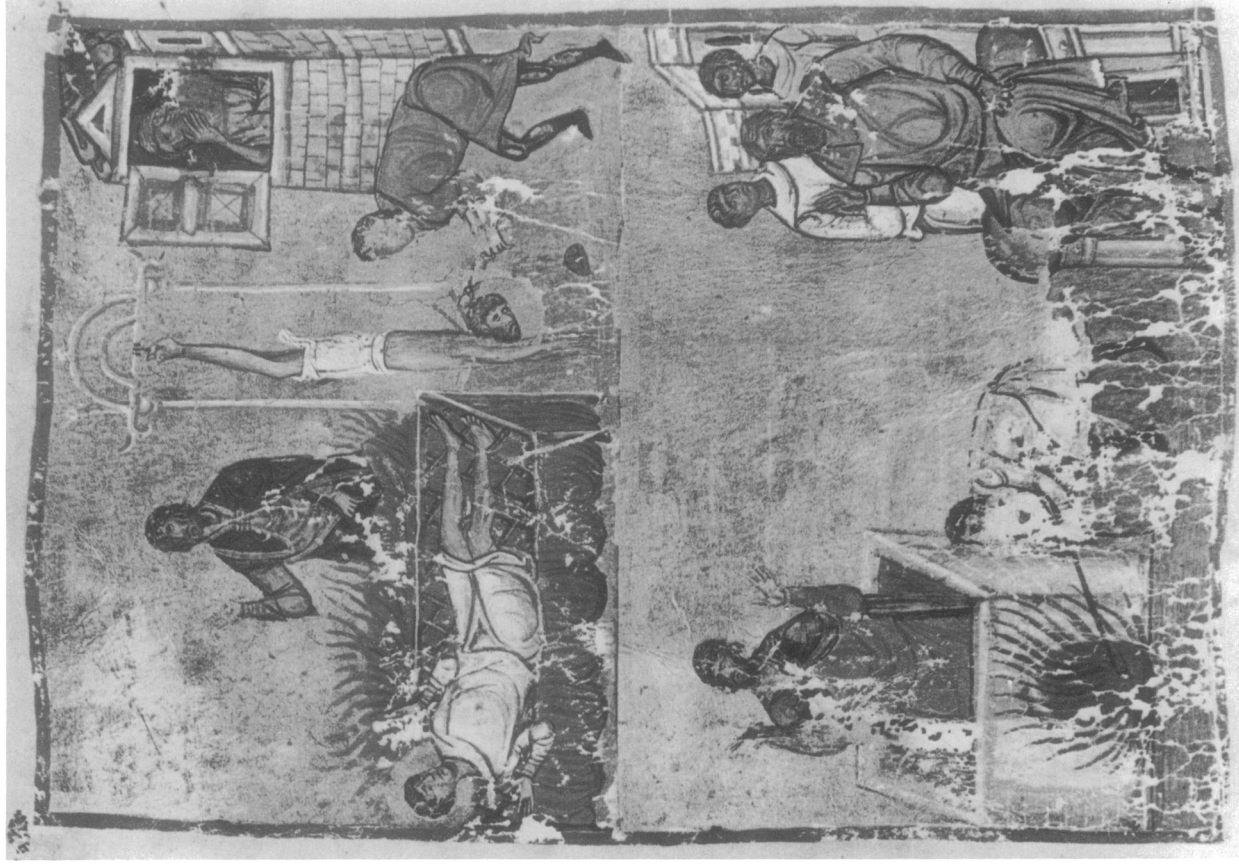
8. Mt. Sinai. Icon, Months of September to February, detail,  
The Five Martyrs (center of third row)



9. Mt. Sinai. Icon, Months of December to February, detail, The Five Martyrs (second row)

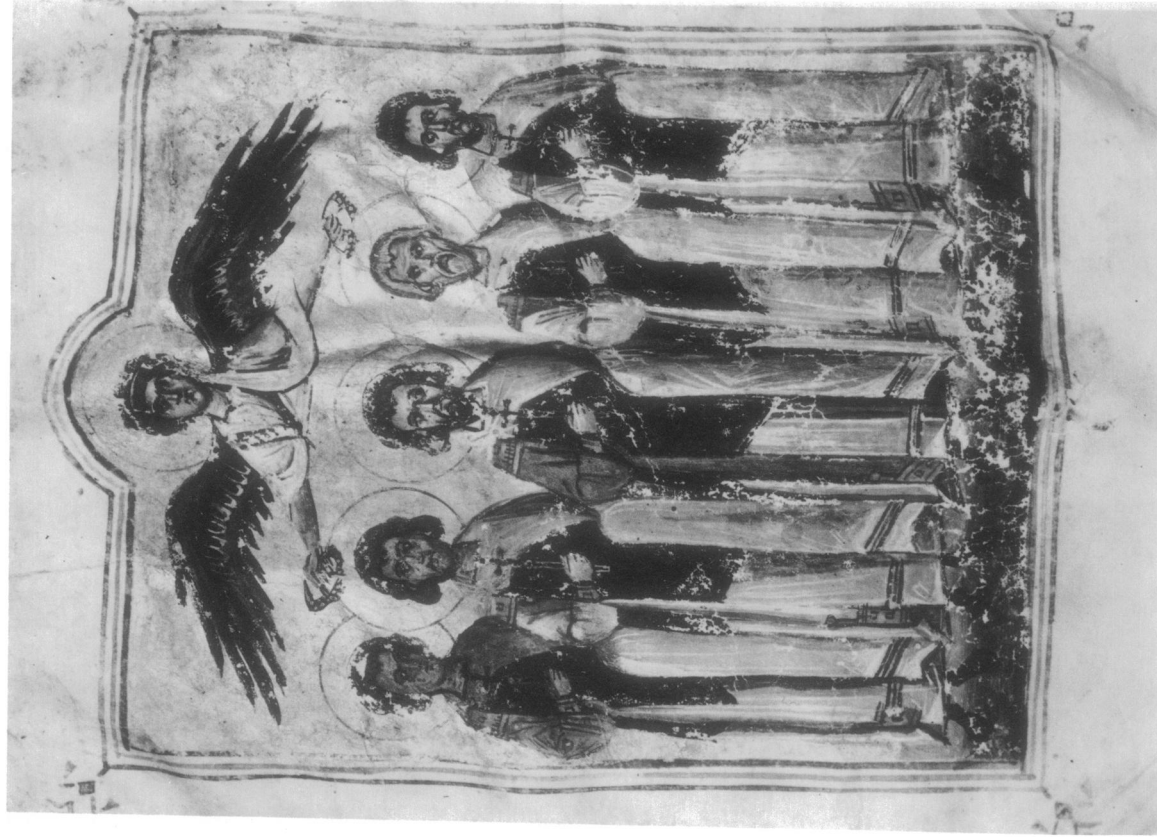


10. Fol. 343r, The Five Martyrs

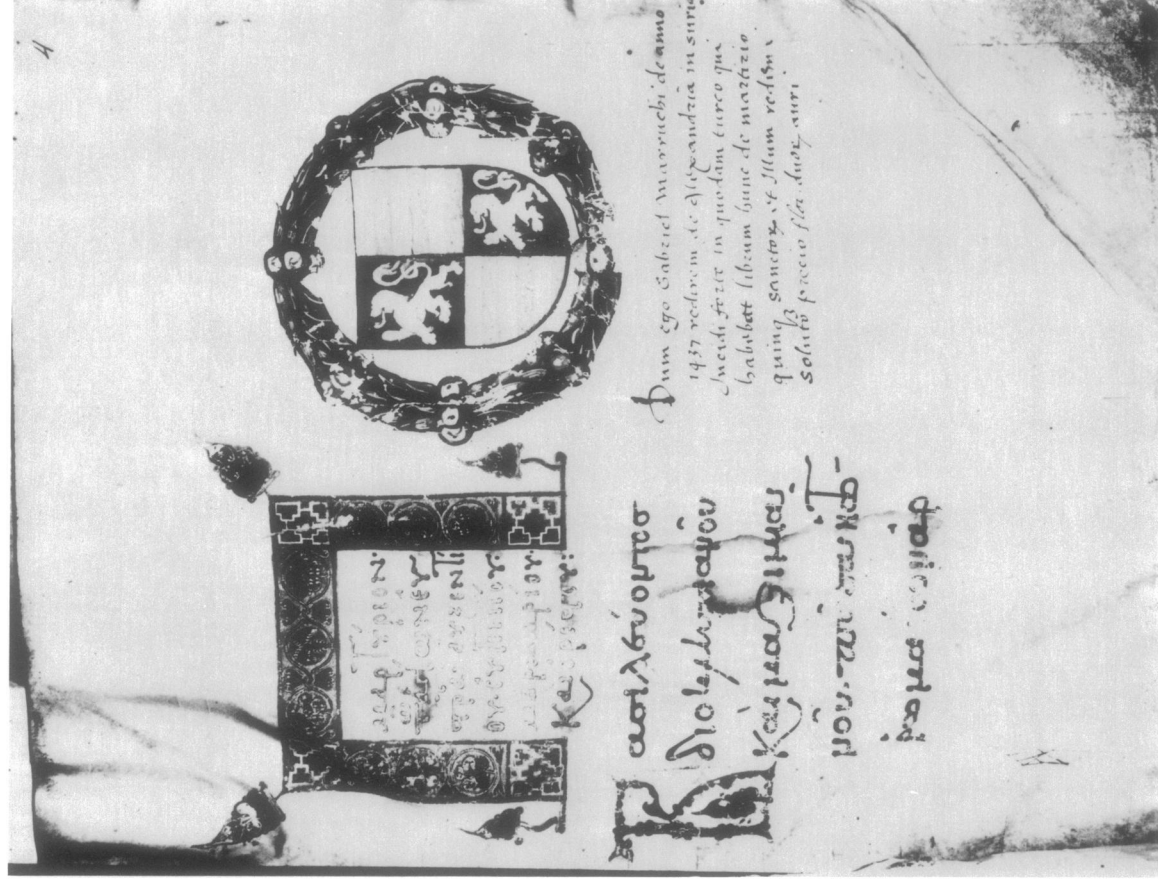


11. Fol. 343v, The Five Martyrs

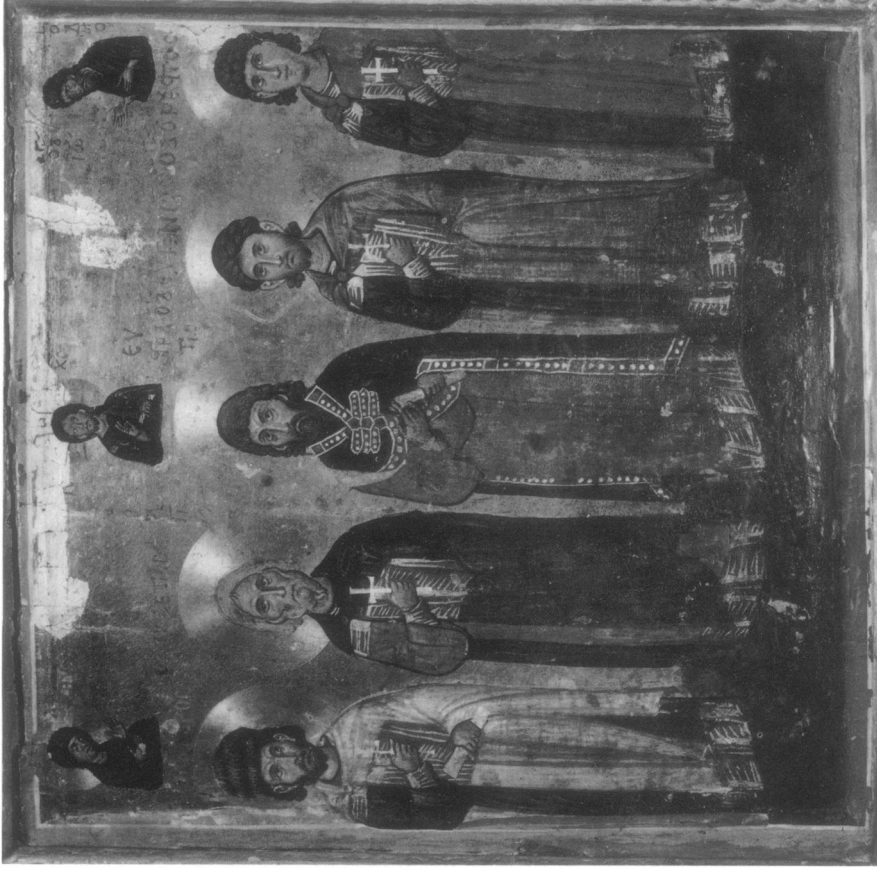




12. Fol 3v, Frontispiece with the Five Martyrs



13. Fol. 4r, Beginning of Text



14. Mt. Sinai. Icon, The Five Martyrs



15. Turin, Bibl. Nat., cod. B.II.4, fol. 28r,  
Eustratios Defends Auxentios

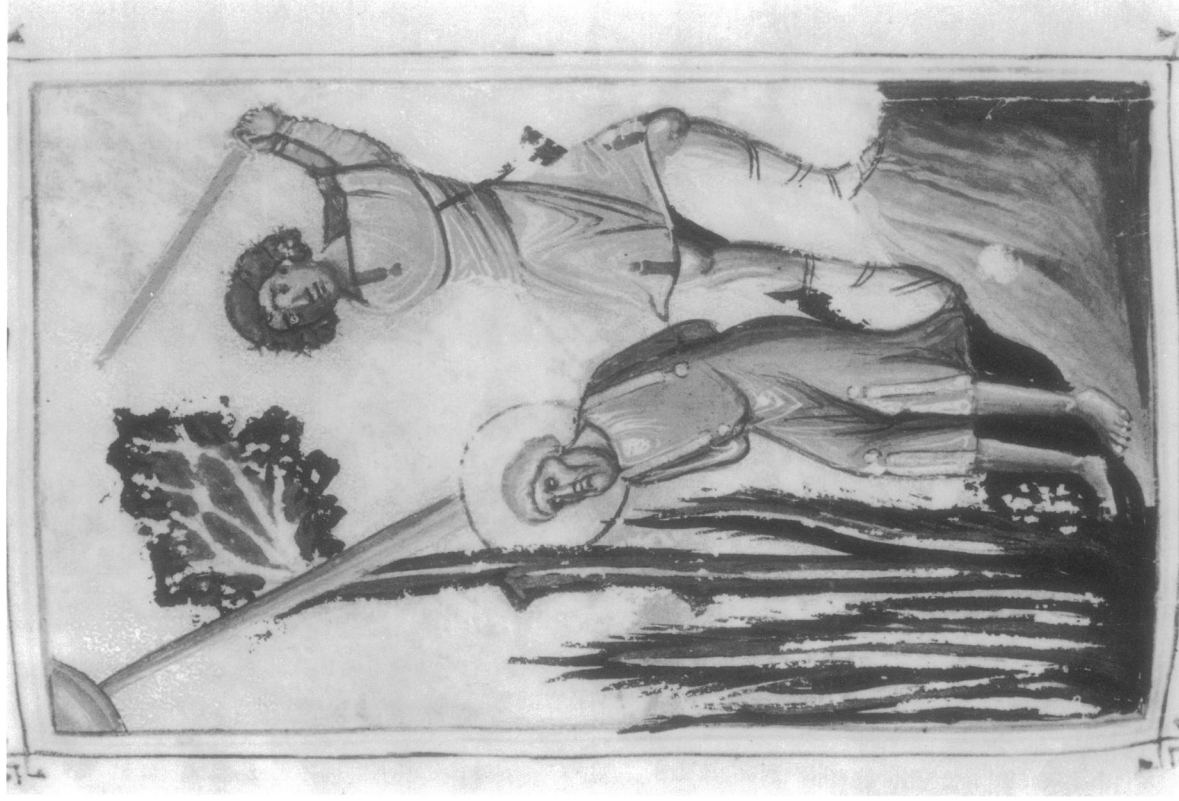


16. Fol. 53r, Eustratios Walking in Torturous Sandals

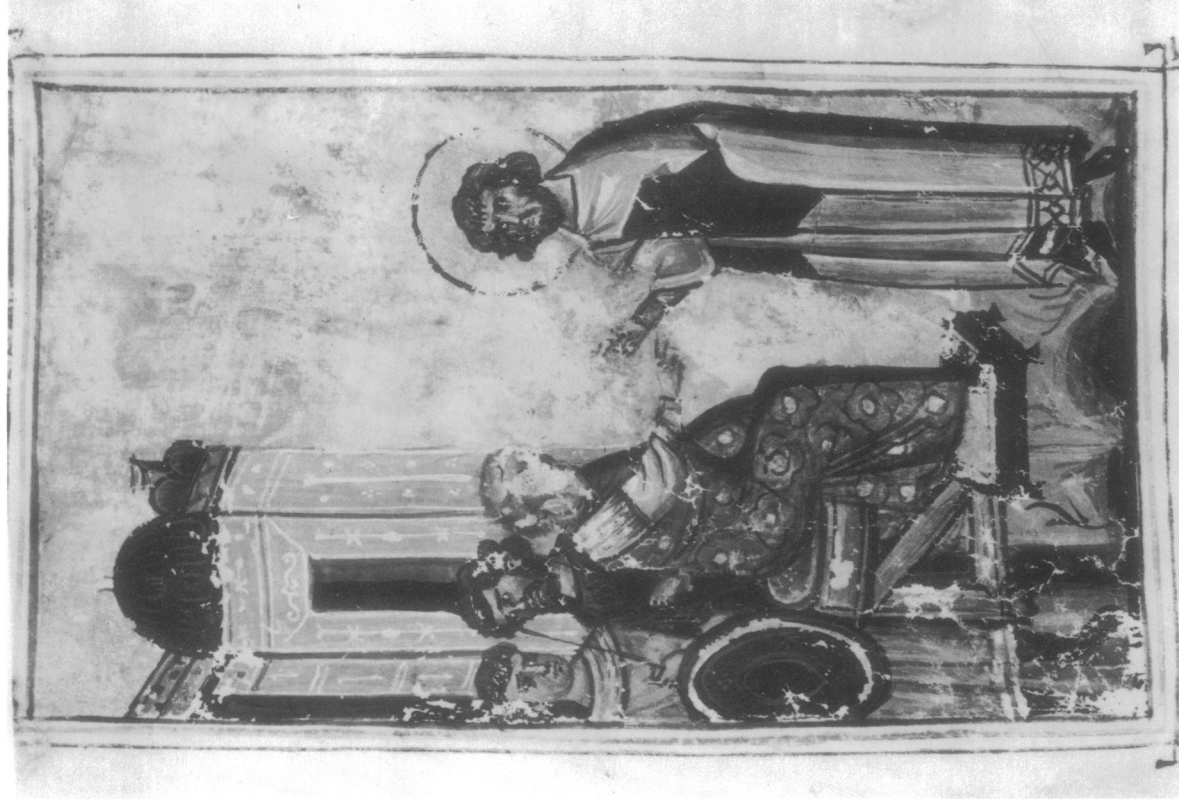


17. Fol. 58v, Mardarios Taking Leave of his Children

Turin, Bibl. Nat., cod. B.II.4

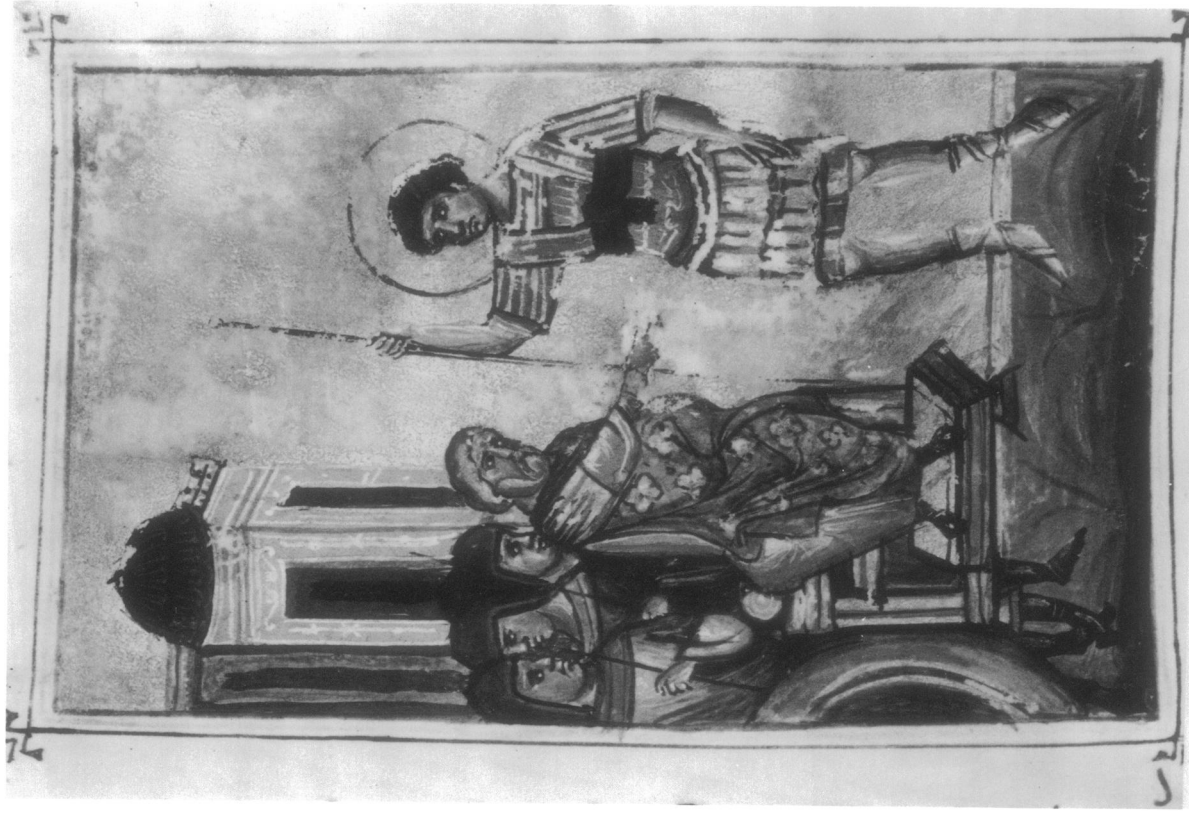


18. Fol. 68v, The Decapitation of Auxentios



19. Fol. 71r, Mardarios Confesses to being a Christian



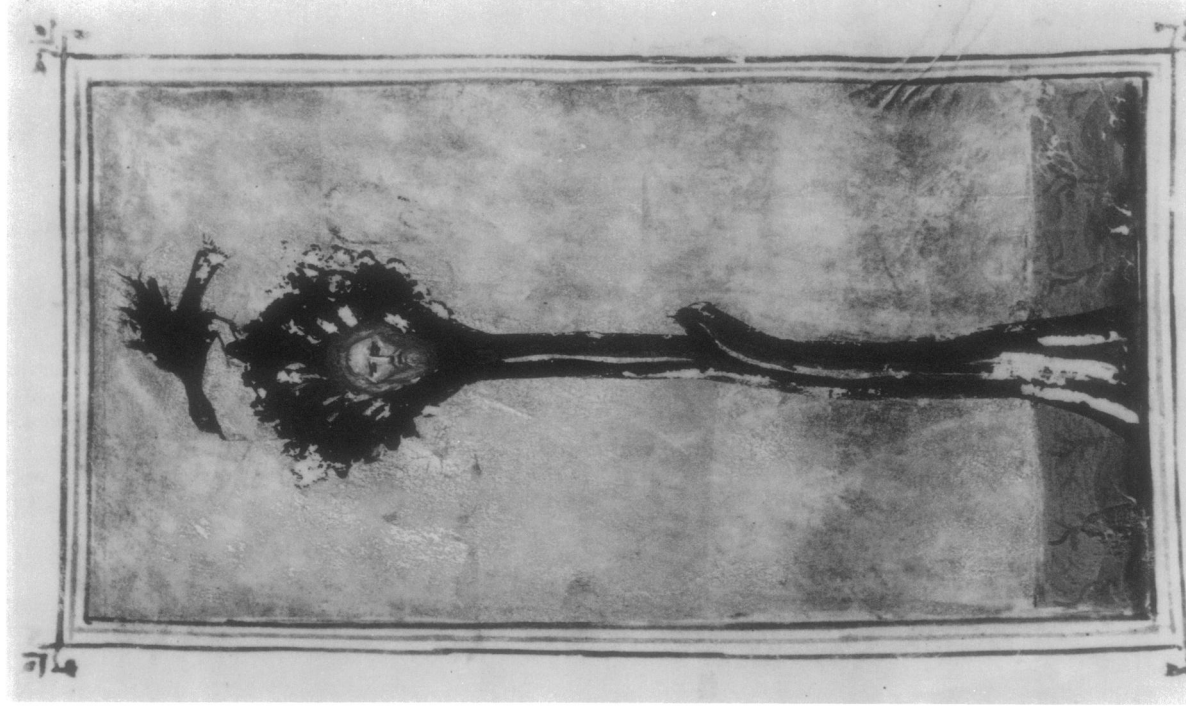


20. Fol. 77r, Orestes Before Lysias



21. Fol. 86v, Eustratios and Orestes Taken Prisoner



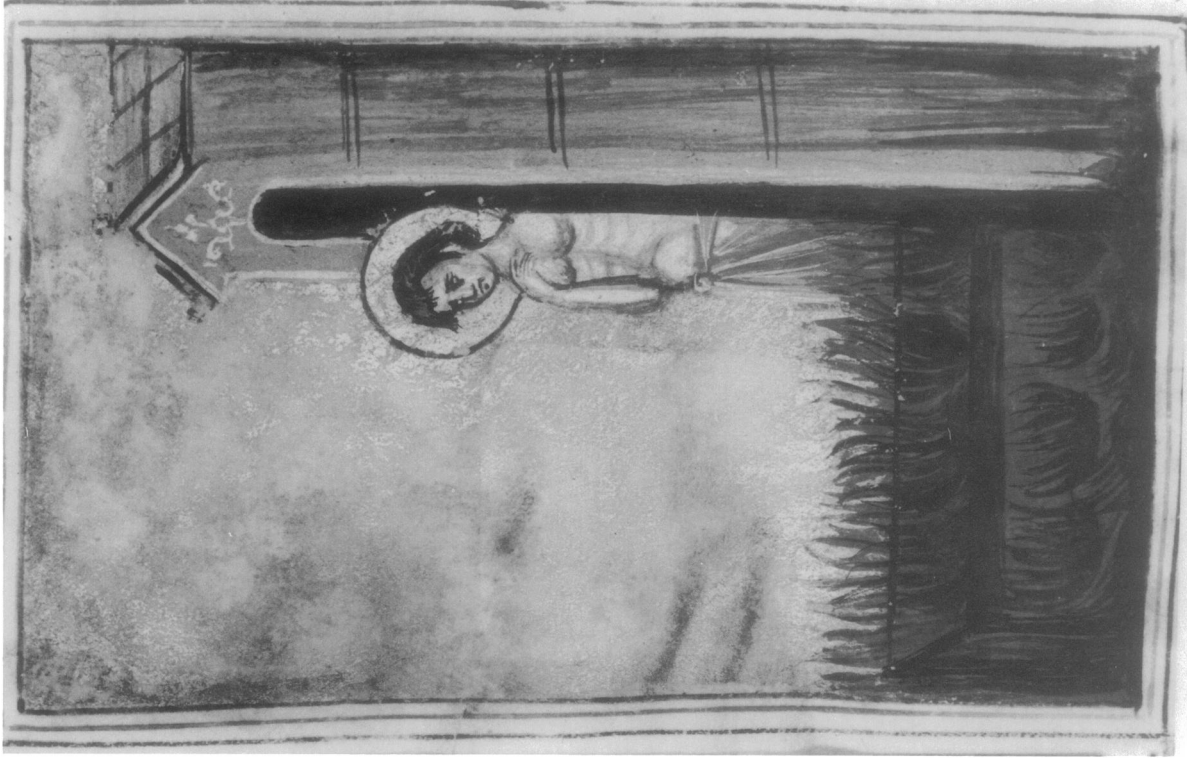


22. Fol. 92r, Auxentios' Head in Tree Top



23. Fol. 95r, Eustratios and Orestes Before Agricolao

Turin, Bibl. Nat., cod. B.II.4



24. Fol. 145v, Orestes Before Iron Grid

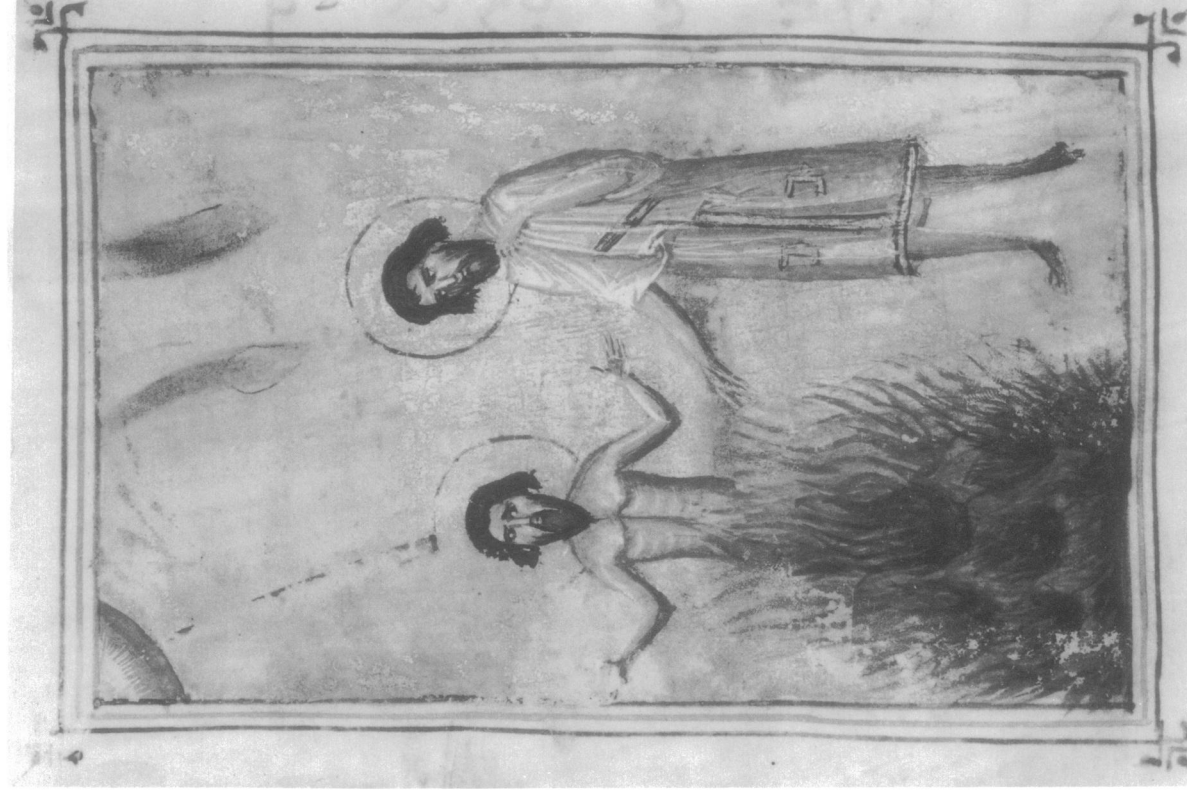


25. Fol. 157r, Agricolaos Entreats Eustratios

Turin, Bibl. Nat., cod. B.II.4



26. Fol. 165r, Eustratios Praying

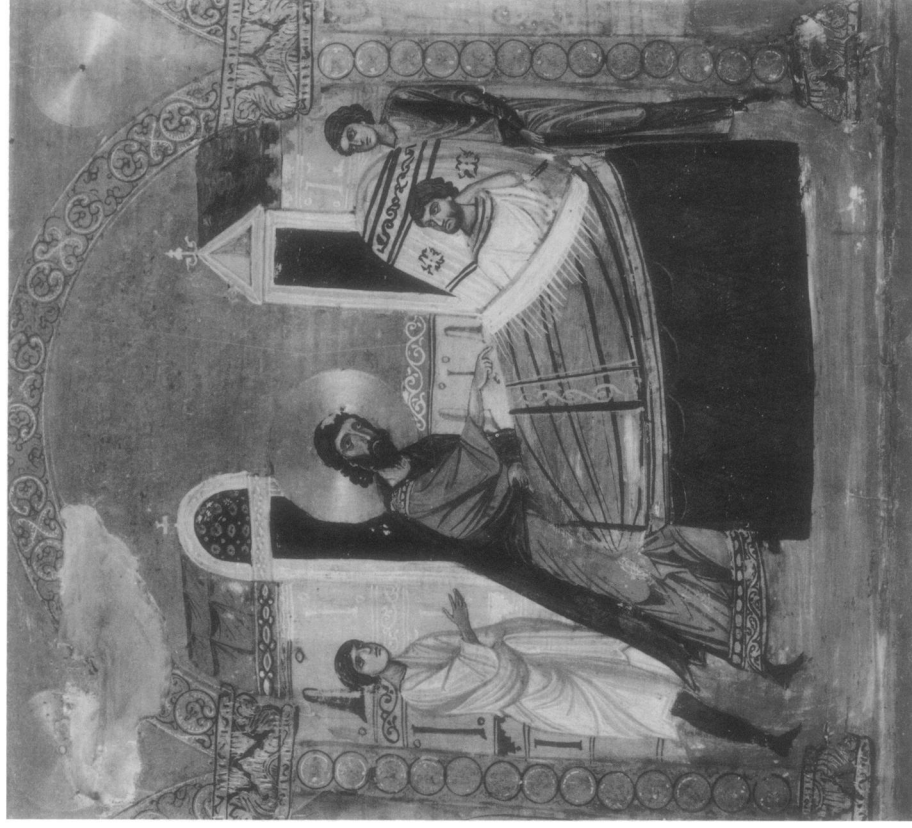


27. Fol. 168v, The Martyrdom of Eustratios

Turin, Bibl. Nat., cod. B.II.4



28. The Healing of a Woman Stricken with Fever



29. The Awakening of a Money Changer

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam





30. The Healing of a Demoniac



31. The Healing of a Man Stricken with Fever

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam



32. The Healing of a Man Stricken with Frenzy



33. The Deesis

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam



34. Worshipers



35. Unidentified Scene

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam



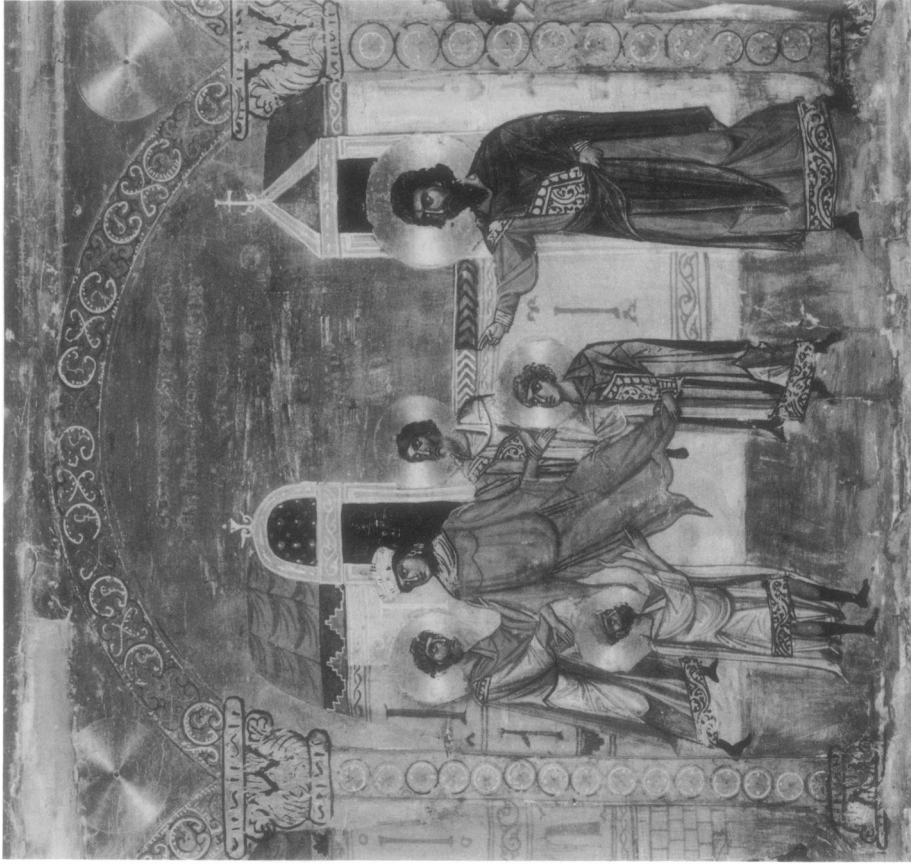
36. The Healing of the Daughter of Syncletica



37. The Healing of a Nun

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam





38. The Healing of a Mute and Immobile Woman



39. The Healing of a Man Afflicted by Tetanus

Mt. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam



40. Fol. 16r, The Finding of the Head of St. Edmund



41. Fol. 21v, St. Edmund Killing King Sweyn